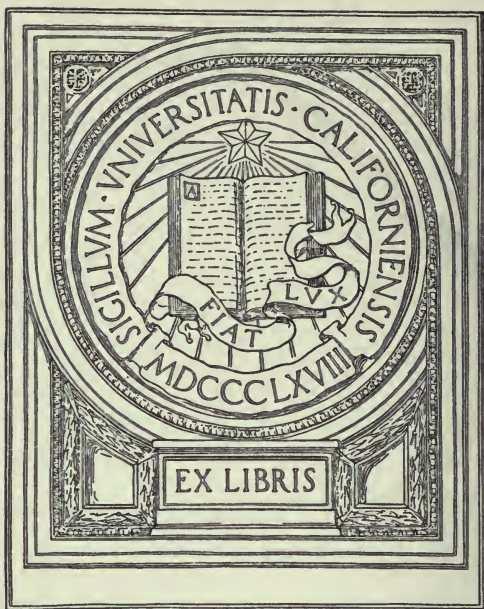


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“Bolshevism—Its Cause and Cure”

BY

C. SHERIDAN JONES

APPRECIATIONS AND OPINIONS.

THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF SELBORNE, K.G.

“I hope that it will be widely read by people of every shade of political opinion.”

THE RT. HON. SIR GILBERT PARKER, BART.

“A clear expression of the evils that lie behind this false and cruel system. . . I hope the book will have an immense distribution.”

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“It is impossible to estimate the value of an exposure of the perils and horrors of Bolshevism, and this is most effectively done by the author. I heartily concur with the author that it is only by taking the workers into partnership in the operations of industry that the capitalist can avert a series of long and bitter struggles. This is a propaganda I have strenuously advocated for more than a generation, and which if carried out would, I firmly believe, have the effect of inaugurating a new industrial era throughout the world.”

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MR. COULSON KERNAHAN.

“Mr. Sheridan Jones very ably and forcibly brings home to us the unpleasant, even alarming fact, that we are by no means as safe from certain forms of Bolshevism, even if we do not hear it called by that name, as we imagine. His book is as far-seeing as it is clear-seeing. . . . The soundest, sanest and most illuminating work on Bolshevism which I have seen.”

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“The book is based on clear knowledge of its subject, shows a balanced and discriminating judgment throughout, and is distinguished by a style which is clear, strong and concise.”

Bellevue

BOLSHEVISM

ITS CAUSE AND CURE

BY

C. SHERIDAN JONES

*Author of "The Unspeakable Prussian,"
etc., etc.*

WITH A FOREWORD

BY

FREDERIC HARRISON, D.C.L., LL.D.

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TO VIKU
ANDROTUAO

FOREWORD

I am in complete agreement with this account of the great Russian experiment in Communism, and I earnestly ask for attention to its reasoning and its facts from those able and thoughtful men who are now responsible for the advance to power of Labour, as well as from those among the order of economists and capitalists who see the necessity for a deeper and more generous study of the vast industrial problem.

Let none, whether workman or employer, turn aside from this book with a hasty word that "there is no Bolshevism of any importance in the future of British Labour"—that "there is no real Communism in the official demands of Trades Union Congresses and Guild programmes." Certainly, nothing remotely like the atrocities of Lenin and Trotsky, no such despotism, cruelty, and robbery, that have reduced the great Russian people to a starving crowd, are possible here. The good sense, the high feeling, the manly honesty of British workmen repudiate all this with horror.

It would be a very superficial view to think that Bolshevism does not concern us at home. All vast social movements are the result of ideas, of theories, of hopes. Ideas, even when they are untrue, absurd and anti-social at bottom, do sometimes lead to social revolutions, provided they promise great advantages to come, and even if all this be mere illusion. A taking catchword, a sophistical phrase, a delirious experiment in bringing about a new life, carry away masses of men, however false in reason they may be, however suicidal in effect. In this way, Bolshevism, crazy tyranny as it seems to us, has gone round the world as a new industrial gospel.

For the first time, and on a gigantic scale, the gospel of Karl Marx has been put into practice with savage violence, so as to seem an "object lesson" in Labour advancement and the realisation of Labour hopes. The ruin, starvation, and death it has brought upon its victims is put aside; the futility of its hopes and the fraudulent bankruptcy of its promises are overlooked. Non-thinking masses all over the world fancy that they will get the gains without the losses, and will make its promises come true. It is the maddest gamble into which mankind ever has flung itself as for a lottery prize.

Bolshevism in any form rests at bottom on the mendacious dogma of Marx that all value is the sole product of the manual labourer, that it is in entirety the right of the labourer, and that any part of such value withheld from him is taken by fraud or trickery. Of course the whole of this dogma is false. All value is produced first, by using capital, *i.e.*, values reserved from previous products; secondly, by the expert experience and the rare intellectual and personal gifts of some trained holder of capital; thirdly, and in many cases quite moderately, by the manual labour of men and women unfit to officer big concerns. British and French privates, for all their splendid fighting power, would have lost the war, had it not been for the infinite resources of the Empire and the genius of Foch and Haig. As it was, Hindenburg and Ludendorff did all but save the Germans from ruin. Big business could no more be worked by Labour alone, however skilful and industrious, than an ocean liner could be run to America without scientific officers bred to it from boyhood, and also without the enormous docks and plant of Liverpool, Southampton, and Cardiff, which are the huge reserved products of generations of capital owners. The Marx lie ought not to mislead an intelligent pit lad.

In this book Bolshevism is shown to mean Communism; and the "advanced" Socialism of Congresses and Guild and Soviet manifestoes is really the same thing in principle and essence. The dogma from which Bolshevism, Communism, and universal Nationalisation derive their fire and life is the same old Marxian nostrum: that all values are the work of Labour, and Capitalism is a conspiracy to steal away its rights from Labour, which henceforth is to take command that Capitalists have usurped for their own greed. Bolsheviks, Communists, Socialists, Guildmen and Soviets, may disagree widely and fiercely about ways and means—but they all agree for the same end.

Not that this book is by any means an employer's defence, or a plea for Capitalism *as it is*. Far from it! It acknowledges the evils of Capitalism in the present and still more in the past. The concluding chapter on the "Remedy" points in general terms to the various forms of a re-organisation of Industry which may lead to an agreed community of interest between the captains, the non-coms. and the privates of the industrial army, so that managers, staff and workmen may each have a voice in the joint business, and each receive profits in proportion to a just estimate of the share they contribute to the finished product.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

CHAPTER I

THE NEW TYRANNY

BOLSHEVISM is on the march. As I write, Novo Rossiysk, Denikin's headquarters, and his last base of operations against the Soviet troops, has been captured by the Reds. Koltchak, his former chief, lies dead—shot by his own troops. Yudenitch, his colleague, is a refugee in London. The Poles have lost Kieff and have succeeded only in uniting all Russia, with the result, Lenin and Trotsky are to-day masters of the largest aggregation of population that the world has ever known, while at their disposal are all those vast reserves of raw material, all those illimitable resources which the land of the Slavs—potentially the richest on earth—has kept jealously locked in her bosom throughout the centuries. From a military, as from an industrial point of view, the Soviet Republic

of Russia is the most formidable, the most impressive consolidation of men and material that even this age of marvels has witnessed. True, it is without the amenities, the conveniences, of life. Siege conditions prevail in the towns, where food is short, for transport has broken down. But despite that, the Republic has the largest army in the world, well equipped, with a fine *morale*, an iron discipline, and at its command is all the wealth—the gold, copper, cotton, corn and timber of the Caucasus, the Urals and the great white Steppes.

This, in itself, is not re-assuring. But there are more disturbing factors. Russia is the only country that, so far, has gone plumb Bolshevik. But others seem to be well on the way. Persia certainly is affected. Japan is threatened with a Labour crisis—a revolt whose gravity and significance is little comprehended. It may end in street-fighting—and concessions ; or it may, so I am told, shift the centre of gravity in the Far East—the “unchanging East,” our fathers called it. China is bitten, badly bitten, by Bolshevism, and the agents of Lenin and Trotsky have seized adroitly on the machinery of the secret societies that

honeycomb the "Flowery Land;" seized on them to propagate doctrines, fatal indeed, to Western civilization, but naturally appealing to the Celestial with his love of ease, his hatred of strife, his predilection for a secure and settled existence. Russia, China, Japan—possibly portions of India—all these are overshadowed by the Bolshevik menace. So far, indeed, as Russia is concerned, she is not merely overshadowed, she has been actually captured by the Soviets and their manipulators. We may loathe Lenin and Trotsky, even as our forbears hated Robespierre and Danton in the days when the "Terror" led all Europe to make war on France, though, as is worth noting, that Terror was to cease only when foreign aggression failed. We may, we *must*, abhor their methods; but also we must have regard to facts, and these leave no room for doubt that Lenin has triumphed. He has established, definitely and firmly in Russia, in the teeth of fearful odds, not merely a new rule, but a new type of civilization. To do this, he has stuck at little; he has shed blood like water—but he has succeeded! And now in the most bewildering and threatening hour

that Europe has ever known, he stands out dominant and supreme, a strong figure in an age of weaklings, a statesman towering silently above wordy politicians, who has moulded the Russia of his fathers after his own will, and has crushed his enemies beneath his heel with a cruelty so impersonal, so ruthless, so thorough, as to be almost superhuman.

Outside Russia, in the East, he has secured the secret sympathy of China and the acquiescence of the masses of Japan ; in the West, he confronts a Europe exhausted, incapable, irresolute — *and* divided.

What are his chances in that Europe ? This morning's papers declare that the Russians have broken the Polish battle line ; that revolution and typhus are seething in Poland ; and that Trotsky is to lead a huge army to deliver the Reds in Germany. Quite possibly all this is false. Few can say, for few can speak with certitude of Europe to-day. One thing, in fact, alone is clear—its uncertainty. At any moment the Reds may themselves gain the upper hand in Germany. The Whites, who only hold power in Hungary by

terror, may yet be submerged by the horde of the Bolsheviki from the East. We may be told that, even so, France may crush the enemy and restore stability to Europe. But, on this day of grace, the newspapers record also another portent, that the French syndicalists and socialists are still bent on promoting the revolution that failed on May the first. It may be that they will fail again—or it may be that they will succeed, as even the Bolsheviks succeeded. Where, then, shall we look for security? Not certainly in Italy. Spain, or large parts of it, is under martial law. Portugal has already revolted. Denmark not long ago threatened her King with a general strike; and, so far as our own country is concerned, men speak of a revolution as almost inevitable—a disagreeable certainty that had better be got over quickly. Bolshevism, in fact, confronts us everywhere—the gravity of its menace grows, and nothing effective is done to protect the civilization that it threatens, or to grapple with the evils on which its propaganda thrives.

Now it might be the case that the whole of Europe, or for the matter of that

the whole of the Universe, went Bolshevik, and left England and her peculiar type of civilization, her social and political arrangements and compromises, utterly untouched. There is no reason why we should imitate the economic innovations of other countries any more than we should copy their literature, or habits of thought, discarding, say, Dickens for Zola, and Shakespeare for Voltaire. The mental complacency, not to say the lethargy, that has marked our race, has at least this advantage : it has saved us from the deadly sin of imitation. When all the great industrial countries of the world staked their commercial existence on Protection, we remained obstinately attached to Free Trade and refused either to be frightened or ruined. The fact that we were told that we alone disdained Tariffs, rather strengthened our rejection of them. Also, we were the first and for a long time, the only nation in Europe to extend the right of asylum to revolutionary refugees, and were exceedingly proud of it, just as we were that we stood alone, or almost alone, in our adherence to Parliamentary Government, and the right of trial by jury. Similarly, the whole

continent might go Red, and still leave us serene and contemptuously disdainful of our neighbours' obsessions. But there is one fatal objection to our following this course in this particular instance. We stuck to trial by jury, Free Trade and Representative Government because we still believed in them. But the plain fact is that we have ceased to believe in the existing industrial order. When Dean Inge says that it has received a mortal wound as a result of the war, he speaks only the literal truth. For there is no disguising the fact that our generation is in revolt against it ; that the mass of the wage earners are vaguely, but profoundly, dissatisfied with it, and that the active men in the Trade Union world, who mould and focus opinion, are bent on its destruction, and on using the weapon of the strike for that purpose. More : there are scarcely any thinkers, writers, critics or philosophers, who even pretend to believe in its permanence, or who deny that it is changing rapidly under our eyes. By a strange paradox, in fact, it has come to be admitted that we can only perpetuate the present system by reconstructing it : that is, for so the word

is used, by altering its salient characteristics. And there is the gravest danger that when we come to do so in earnest, we shall accept Bolshevism as our model ; that the very statesmen and publicists, who to-day condemn Lenin for his hasty atrocities, will adopt, not these, but what in sober truth are worse—his coldly-drawn, and far more cruel regulations.

The plain fact is that we have been mistaken about Bolshevism. Louis Napoleon, it used to be said, deceived Europe—the tranquil settled Europe of our grandfathers—twice : first, into mistaking him for a fool ; secondly, into mistaking him for a statesman. Now it seems to me there is some danger of history repeating itself about this modern enigma. The first mistake we have committed already. It consisted in regarding the Government of Lenin and Trotsky as that of sanguinary but inefficient ruffians, men of blood without the iron, neuropaths, whose feverish activity was purely, nay, insanelly, destructive ; a government of anarchists, in fact, described, when we were good-tempered, as idealists, when we were indignant, as cut-throats, holding office only by a system of terrorism,

which the great mass of sane Russians would speedily end, and which must inevitably collapse of its own weight. That was the current, the popular, view: that was our first mistake, natural, almost unavoidable about the Bolsheviki. It endured obstinately for awhile in official circles (till General Gough returned) but so far as the man in the street was concerned, it weakened rapidly under the pressure of facts, those stubborn correctors of the contemporary press.

For Bolshevism did not collapse. The great mass of the Russian people did *not* rise to resist it. It proved itself, not inefficient or irresponsible, but, on the contrary, as effective as it was ruthless. It maintained a battle front of 400 miles in the country, and organized itself with remarkable ability against the other enemy, Famine, in the towns. It held Poland and the Baltic States in check, won back the Cossacks, established friendly relations with the Turcomans, and finally, so far from going down in a welter of blood and confusion, it pulverized the armies sent against it, and established the rule of the Soviet throughout Russia, till at last the Allies' blockade was

abandoned, and its directors, Lenin and Trotsky, were recognized as probably two of the ablest, perhaps two of the greatest, men that the surprises of revolution have yet revealed to us.

And then—then commenced our second great delusion about Bolshevism, which, even as I write, is gathering force.

The workers, unsettled and discontented, suspicious of Parliament, lacking only the necessary cohesion and leadership to precipitate an industrial crisis by Direct Action, but fiercely intent on a new order, and a new status, have turned to Bolshevism with an avidity and enthusiasm that Englishmen have never before displayed for any alien political philosophy. Mr. George Lansbury returns from Russia and the Albert Hall is packed to suffocation to hear his account of the triumphs and achievements of Soviet rule, and 10,000 people are turned away for lack of room. Throughout England meetings are held—they are taking place to-day—where the names of Lenin, Trotsky and Litvinoff are cheered to the echo. The Shop Stewards meet at Westminster and debate what steps should be taken to establish Soviet rule in Merrie England. The

St. Pancras Borough Council elections are carried on a "Soviet" programme of Social Reform, and the walls of that austere Borough are plastered with pictorial examples—all at the expense of the disgruntled ratepayer—of Municipal Bolshevism, which it is proposed to follow in London now. More: staid and serious "Social Reformers," Eugenists, Fabians, Trade Union Officials, Labour Leaders, students at Ruskin Hall, these follow deliberately in the footsteps of the St. Pancras pioneers, and are to-day adopting and foisting upon the Labour Party, not merely the watchwords, but the proposals and the policy, cut and dried, of the Soviet leaders. If those proposals are carried out, or even partially adopted, the whole character of our civilization will be changed. I do not mean that we shall have "atrocities" in London; but these, I have always thought, to be the least important part of the indictment against Lenin and his lieutenants. Atrocities always occur in revolutions, and nearly always occur in Russia without revolution. They have been, it is true, particularly revolting and odious in this case, but we must not forget that they

were more or less in the nature of a repayment in kind of that other series of organized horrors suffered at the hands of Czardom, which, being Russian also, were, of course, peculiarly repellent. But bad as they were, revolting as were the maimings, burnings and tortures of defenceless men and women, Lenin taught us something worse. He showed us that the bureaucrat, signing decrees with his pen, breaking up homes without end, and banishing conscript workmen from their families, could be several degrees more callous than the assassin or the despot, who strikes and is appeased. He taught us that his tyranny was harsher, more methodical, than the Czar's. He made us realize in very truth that the worst despot in the world is the one who thinks himself benevolent.

CHAPTER II

THE ROOTS OF BOLSHEVISM

IF we are going to preserve our civilization against the rising tide of Bolshevism, it is essential that we should do something more than denounce that superstition. We must make an effort to understand it; to find out in what its fascination really consists. The current explanation of its growth is simple, but inadequate. Bolshevism appeals, it is suggested, to the young man in a hurry, who wants a short cut to the New World, where there will be a superabundance of good things for everybody, so that motor cars, Coronas, and boxes at the opera, will no longer be confined to a favoured few. "Sacking the boss" is the customary stock phrase of this type of social reformer, who has, at all events, the courage of the convictions he has adopted and would cheerfully "chance his arm" in a violent revolution to get what he wanted.

But after all he is only a negligible factor.

Bolshevism attracts, not only the youth, who has read Shelley and is "fed up" with the drudgery of factory or office life. It appeals irresistibly to the man, no longer young, with a more or less regular job, a settled life and a family; and it appeals to him because it offers, or seems to offer, security.

This type of workman, the backbone of his class, forming the rank and file of the great Trade Unions, and now joining the Labour Party by the thousand, is intent, not on violence and revolution, but on the reconstruction of Society on Bolshevik lines. He is determined that neither his life, nor that of his children shall be haunted by the spectre of unemployment. Hence he demands that the State shall take over and control all industry and guarantee to every worker steady employment and a living wage : in a word—security of livelihood.

That is the first attraction which Bolshevism offers to these men, and it is all the stronger because it appeals primarily to the more responsible, the more stable elements of their nature. It is clear that a society which cannot guarantee continuity of em-

ployment, or regular payments to its workers, will certainly not be preferred to an industrial order which places that claim in the forefront of its programme.

What is the second attraction which Bolshevism possesses for the workman? Again, not for the irresponsible youth, but the steady, dour, determined artizan, who till lately thought the British Constitution the last word in political perfection. It is this. He reads in the papers that prices are rising, that food and necessities are getting dearer and dearer—and that millionaires are more plentiful than ever! Young Lord Furness retires from business with a nice little fortune of seven million sterling. Other firms pay dividends ranging in some cases, over 100 per cent. The workman is left with nothing but his wages. In these large profits he has no share, and it is scarcely surprising, therefore, that he prefers a system of society, where *all* profit is to be given, not to the capitalists, but to the workmen.

These are the two main reasons which slowly, but surely, are converting the staid, loyal, conservative masses of England into Socialists, who are not less formidable

than the Bolsheviks, because they do not believe as yet in the necessity of force to carry their programme. Ideas rule the world. If the mass of Englishmen make up their mind to destroy the existing industrial order and to supplant it by one on Bolshevik lines, then, with or without a violent revolution, that will be done. Only by argument, analysis and reason can we hope to save the situation.

Now, it is assumed, largely on the strength of one or two by-elections, that while the Bolshevik philosophy may have made great progress among the men, it fails to appeal to the women, whose faces are set hard, not merely against revolution, but also against any such alteration of our social structure as I have indicated. Personally, I am more than doubtful of this. I quite agree that once Bolshevism, its aims and methods, are clearly understood, English women, will have none of it. But till that is done, and until the logical outcome of State Socialism is clearly understood, then I am inclined to the view that the grounds upon which the Bolshevik régime is being recommended to us Britishers, will find a very warm and ardent

backing from the new feminine electorate.

When the woman citizen goes to the poll, of what will she be thinking? Party politics have little attraction for her, and to violent change she is, perhaps, averse. But to one chord she will respond intuitively. There is a story told of a certain young advocate, who, nervous and tongue-tied, when he rose to address the Court, was for some time at a loss for speech, "till I felt my children pulling at my gown, and went on." We may be sure that a good many women at the polling booth will feel their gowns being pulled by children as they go to record their votes, and in many cases their votes will go to the Socialist, *i.e.*, the Bolshevik, candidate (for that the two are indistinguishable there is no doubt). For the Bolsheviks in Russia have been at pains to carry out a programme of widespread and remarkable reforms, so far as the children are concerned, and their English protagonists have followed them to the extent of hitching on to their other economic and social demands, changes in the care and culture of the younger generation that must appeal very directly and forcibly to any woman,

who is either a mother, or has in her the maternal instinct. With great sagacity Lenin and Trotsky have put the case of the children first in their astutely conducted foreign propaganda, and though the reforms that they have initiated carry implications not apparent to the average woman—else certainly she would fight Bolshevism to the death—yet on the surface they introduce improvements into the conditions of child-life that warm the heart of every woman.

Let me give a few examples. Here is one from the *Krasnaya Gazette* (*The Red Gazette* of October 31st, 1918.)

“ The Commissariat of Social Welfare in Petrograd is very active on behalf of the young. For babies in arms there is ‘ the Children’s Home ’ with 500 inmates. There are also homes for children from three to seven years old. Much attention is devoted by the Commissariat to the establishment of sanatoria for children, whose health needs recuperation. Such sanatoria have been opened at Gatchino, Tzarskoe Selo, Sestroretzk, and at the Grafski Station. All these country places are within a few miles of Petrograd.”

Mr. Goode, who is I believe, a sincere, though not a very discerning observer,

bears testimony to the same effect. Speaking as one who may fairly claim wide educational experience he says :

“ In no country in the world with which I am acquainted is so much care and thought lavished on children by any Government as here in Russia. In saying that, I speak with expert knowledge for my life has been spent in educational work. Up to the age of sixteen, food and necessities are supplied gratis, according to the rate of the highest category. Whoever else may suffer from the stringency of conditions it is certainly not the children. Education is gratuitous and has been placed on a footing and planned with a lavishness that bids fair to cope successfully in the future with the dense ignorance of millions of illiterates.

“ Working schools, popular training classes, people's clubs and associations, technical classes and schools, popular universities, continue the work, and everything is planned, and much is already done to gratify the thirst for knowledge and improvement that exists among the young. That, at any rate, in Moscow, there is no need to arouse, it has arisen spontaneously. And it must exist in the provinces, seeing the ease with which large numbers of peasants, men and

women, youths and adults, can be selected for specific training as workers. It looks to me as if the Revolution has produced among the masses of the people an explosion of desire to eat of the tree of knowledge. The carrying off of children in colonies to the country in summer is a movement that tends towards physical improvement, and at the same time relieves the food difficulty in towns, by taking the children where food is more plentiful. And it gives opportunities to the older ones of learning to help in the work of the fields. In any case, the guiding motive is the improvement of child life which has led also to the giving of meals in schools which, when their children are not taken to the country are kept open that the meals may not be intermitted. And while all this care is poured out on the rearing of the young, an equal amount is bestowed on provision for the recreation and amusement, a work which is crowned by the functioning of seven theatres in Moscow on Sunday afternoons solely for their benefit. The commencing age for work is sixteen years, and up to eighteen years two hours of *the working day* must be spent in class study—by law. Later it is intended to raise the age of beginning work. Here is

shown continuously care for those of tender age.

“*For Infants* the beginnings of an elaborate system of care are made in maternity, the medical treatment, nursing and feeding of the little ones, on a scale which when perfected will be unique. Lastly, for all the activities concerning the young there have been ample appropriations of funds made. None of them need suffer from a stinting of the money necessary for their full working.”*

If the rule of the Soviet endures in Russia—there seems to be no reason for supposing that any movement worth counting is at present opposing it—these efforts for child welfare will be considerably developed and extended, and we shall hear very much in their praise from that Party in British politics whose objectives and aims are indistinguishable from Lenin’s. The atrocities will fade. The public will tire, have already largely tired of them, and instead we shall hear more and more of what the Russian State is doing for its child wards.

Doubtless the film will be pressed into the service and instead of paying to witness the

* (*Bolshevism at Work*, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.).

execution, under distressing circumstances, of the Russian *noblesse*, the populace will look with far more pleasure, and not more incredulity, on the children of peasants and workmen, no longer taking "pot luck," but being treated to the best in the school room, gymnasia, playing fields, or crèche.

In point of fact, our Socialist and Labour Parties have already adopted many of these particular planks of the Bolshevik programme. Free milk for expectant and nursing mothers, free feeding of all school children, free medical attention for mother and child, payment for motherhood by the State—these already form an integral part of the Labour Programme which, strange to say, insists that, although the workman should be so enriched that he could certainly feed and rear his offspring without assistance, he shall yet be freed from all moral obligation to do so.

We may later discover the reason of this strange paradox, and I will then indicate why I am opposed to the particular reforms I have just instanced. But for the moment, it is perhaps enough that we should note in passing the direct and powerful emotional appeal that they make, that they must make

to all women, to all men not destitute of feeling. Clearly, the programme of giving the child a chance, of seeing that it is well fed, well equipped, well trained, will rally to it an immense volume of public support. It is, in fact, the trump card of Bolshevism.

CHAPTER III

THE GREAT SLAVE STATE

SO far, we have concerned ourselves largely with the advantages, at all events, with the attractions, of Bolshevism. It is time that we took a glance at the other side of the medal and realized the dangers, not at first apparent, which lie behind the achievements that must in fairness be set down to the credit of the new régime in Russia. In indicating those dangers, I shall be at pains to give chapter and verse for my statements and I shall take as my text, whenever possible, the claims made for the Bolsheviks by their own apologists who, I shall show, stand condemned out of their own mouths.

First let me summarize the advantages of life under the Soviet system when contrasted with our own civilization. To the workman, as I have said, the Bolsheviks offer security of employment, with the consciousness

that he is not labouring to produce wealth and affluence in which he has no share.

For the woman, and the mother, they give guarantees that every child born under their dominion has the assurance of being adequately fed and well-tended and trained—that is so far as the purely material side of its life is concerned. To these we may add the claim generally that, on the material side of life, and as regards all things that make for the physical efficiency of the workman, in respect to housing and improved conditions in the factory and the field, the new bureaucracy of Lenin and Trotsky, are grappling in earnest with problems that we in England are still only discussing.

These are strong claims. What are the objections to be set against them? They are to be summarized in one word—Slavery!

Under Bolshevism, as life is ordered to-day, the primal rights of the individual disappear. He is assured work and a sufficiency; he is not exploited by capitalists. He is relieved of the care of his children and he is, or he is to be, well housed and protected from unwholesome and dangerous conditions in industry. And the

price he has been made to pay for this is that he surrenders his status as a human being and becomes something between a machine and an animal. This is not a mere rhetorical exaggeration, but is borne out by facts.

It is historically true that the evolution of the family under Western civilization has saved mankind from slavery. As the institution of the home arose, as the relationship of husband and wife, parents and children, became not merely accepted, but unchallengeable in the mind of man ; so the possibility of slavery faded from his conception until it became odious to him. Once the unit of the family was firmly established, once the home became an object of regard to mankind, it ceased, obviously, to be possible to sell men, who were fathers, women who were mothers, as chattels. It is worth noting that in the great controversy over the slavery question in America, the most moving figure in the discussion, which preceded the war, was that of the slave woman, Liza, fleeing across the ice-bound river to save, not herself, but her child, who would be taken from her if she lost her status of motherhood in

slavery. The Americans, who had not over much pity for the slave *qua* woman, were yet moved to indignation at the picture of the outraged mother drawn in "Uncle Tom's Cabin"—the novel that did more to determine opinion than a thousand speeches or hundreds of pamphlets.

I submit that it is as clear as it is incontrovertible that, under the Bolshevik rule, the family must go and that, wherever the Soviet Government is established, in its entirety, the people must live under something of the same promiscuity that, unhappily, characterized the negroes, until the conscience of America refused longer to tolerate slavery.

The proof of this statement is easy. The destruction of the family follows inevitably upon the industrial arrangements which Lenin and Trotsky have already inaugurated. Speaking at the "Third Russian Congress of Soviets of National Economy," Trotsky said :

"We shall succeed if qualified and trained workers take part in productive labour. They must all be registered and provided with work books. Trade Unions must register qualified workmen in the

villages. Only in those localities where trade union methods are inadequate other methods must be introduced, in particular that of compulsion, because labour conscription gives the State the right to tell the qualified workman who is employed on some unimportant work in his village, 'You are obliged to leave your present employment and go to Sormovo or Kolomna because there your work is required.' Labour conscription means that the qualified workmen who leave the army must take their work books and proceed to places where they are required, where their presence is necessary to the economic system of the country. Labour conscription gives the Labour State the right to order a workman to leave the village industry in which he is engaged and to work in State enterprises which require his services."

It is very easy to see what happens in these circumstances. The workman's home is, let us say, in the Crimea or Southern Russia. Here he lives, more or less happily, with his wife and children, and contrives, presumably, to make a living and to pay his way. But the organizers of the great Slave State of Russia point out to him that he can produce more, earn more profit—

though not for the capitalist—if he is removed to another part of the country, hundreds, perhaps thousands of miles away, to work amid strange scenes, with people speaking a different patois, perhaps not even Russians ; and he must, perforce, go,—leave his wife, his family, his home!

A case like this, it should be observed, is, under Bolshevism, not the exception, but the rule. Nor is it comparable to the case of a man called to arms in defence of his country, who leaves his town and village, in a company formed of his friends and neighbours. They know that some at least—they hope most—will return to find the old homes standing and their wives awaiting them: that the separation is temporary.

But the soldiers of the Soviet have no such guarantee. The war is over, and they are not to return to their homes. Not only are men taken from the villages, where they have roots, old friends, family ties, the associations that it is natural and wholesome for a man to form ; not only are they transplanted, willy nilly, to a strange environment ; but the soldiers, who had never been disbanded, are to be used under

the iron heel of Bolshevism as industrial conscripts.

According to a special correspondent writing in *The Observer* on April 4th :

“ The Soviet Government of Russia is rapidly enforcing its policy of the conscription of labour for industrial purposes. This conscription takes two forms :

(1) The transformation of the old fighting Revolutionary Armies into Armies of Labour, and

(2) The introduction of compulsion into, and the militarization of ordinary industry.

“ ‘ It is only by military tactics,’ Lenin stated recently, ‘ that we shall succeed in saving the State from economic ruin.’

“ Labour conscription has been adopted for several reasons. The Soviet aims to stop the decline in production. It is able to control large numbers of soldiers who, if disbanded, would be a menace. It hopes to salve what the *Pravda* described as ‘ the tiresome, heavy, exacting, uninspiring work of social reconstruction.’

“ There is an attempt to gild the pill of individual serfdom by systematizing expressions of enthusiasm. The workers are urged to begin and end their work

with anthems, and revolutionary songs. But behind this is a stern discipline which is being enforced with a relentless hand. 'Iron military discipline is necessary,' said the leader, Zinobieff. Trotsky laid down the first principles for the conscription of Labour at the great National Economy Congress at Moscow in January. 'Labour conscription,' he declared, 'gives the Labour State the right to order a workman to leave the village industry in which is is engaged and to work in a State enterprise which requires his services. We must feed these workmen and guarantee them a minimum food ration . . . There must be the utmost strictness and severity both in matters small and great.'

"The right to wages, the right to strike, or the rights of combination outside the Soviet do not exist.

"Six 'Armies.'"

"Out of eighteen known Bolshevik armies, five have been transferred into Labour Armies, and a sixth Labour Army is being formed. The actual organization and establishment of the old armies is maintained. Military discipline is continued. Labour becomes a military duty just as fighting was a military duty ;

refusal to go to work is, therefore, tantamount to a soldier refusing to go into battle. The men have been warned that the Labour Army will have to exist for several years.

“ The First Army of Labour, of which most is known, and which will presumably be the model for all other armies, was originally the Third (Military) Army, operating on the Eastern front until last December. It is 150,000 strong, including 7,000 communists and 9,000 communist students. It works under the supervision of the Revolutionary Soviet of the Labour Army, made up of representatives from the military Soviet and from the different departments of the National Soviet Government. This body has, in effect, absolute power. The rank and file are like soldiers temporarily in civil work. Trotsky has promised them that they may return to the fighting ranks again.

“ ‘ The first Revolutionary Labour Army is not disarmed,’ he stated in his Order when the change was made in January. ‘ It keeps its organization and military spirit in the event of being called by the Socialistic Fatherland for fresh duty.’

“ A Chief Committee on Universal

Labour Service was appointed in February, composed of representatives of People's Commissariats for Labour, the Interior and War. While Labour is made generally compulsory, it is not proposed to employ all on national work.

"Work Books."

"Work books are now compulsory for all, although this regulation is not yet fully enforced. Each work book has thirty-two pages giving particulars of the civil status of the holder, the number of persons dependent on him, particulars of employment, pay, etc. In time, every citizen over sixteen years of age will have one of these books. 'The introduction of the work book will make it possible for us to ascertain whether the law as to work is being observed,' the Soviet authorities say.

"The Soviet leaders realize the necessity of increasing output if Russia is to be economically saved. Two big labour difficulties have haunted them from the first—the constant abstention from work and the slackening in the rate of work. When the spur of bread compulsion was removed, men worked when they pleased, and most men did not please to work at all.

" Ten Hour Working Day."

" Labour competition between factory and factory, and district and district is being introduced. Idlers are punished drastically. ' The Revolutionary Tribunals must punish good-for-nothings,' Trotsky declared. ' It is necessary to strain every effort while working, just the same as during a campaign or battle.' Hours of labour have been ' voluntarily ' extended. A ten-hour working day, six days a week, with a ' voluntary ' four hours on Sunday, is the rule in some parts.

" Electricity for the Cottage."

" The work on which the Armies of Labour are being engaged varies. The old troops have so far been engaged almost together on improving the railroads and means of transportation. The Petrograd Labour Army is to be kept busy on working peat. Zinobieff states that this same army will begin the development of a great electric power system, which is one of Lenin's dreams.

" ' Electricity will be installed in every house throughout the country. Every peasant's cottage will be illuminated as brightly as a palace. The peasant will be able to use a lathe worked by electricity.'

“ Lenin is greatly concerned also over a plan for the organization of water transport, declaring that more may depend on it ‘ than on the war against Poland, into which we may be forced.’ ”

“ Iron Discipline.”

“ An attempt is made to maintain a democratic appearance to the movement. But, actually, it is harsh compulsion, imposed on the majority by a minority, through a carefully organized system of centralization. The Soviet Government controls all foodstuffs, all means of communication, all supplies of raw materials, becomes more and more all-powerful. Its plans are not yet fully developed, but they are moving along on a clearly-marked route. Long hours of labour for the workers, concentration camps for deserters, starvation for the idle will be the rule, ‘ Military iron discipline ’ is to be the method of enforcement. This is the phrase that runs through almost every speech of Lenin, Trotsky, or their chief assistants, when discussing the future of the new armies of Labour.”

This is an illuminating picture. I may be told that it is from the pen of a writer hostile to Bolshevism and ought, therefore,

to be discounted. But the chief organ of Bolshevism in the London press—*The Daily Herald* of the day following, provides me with an answer to this criticism, for I find in the leading article, that the Editor (or his mouthpiece), just returned from seeing the Soviets at work, uses these remarkable words :

“ Discipline—iron, rigid discipline of the workers by the workers, is needed in Russia. *It will be needed here when the workers come to power.*” (The italics are mine.)

And, again, says this Daniel-Come-to-Judgment :

“ We have no love for coercion of any kind, but we cannot visualize a modern State without it.”

Coercion, that is to say, as to where a man works, and what trade he follows ! It is small wonder that the Editor complains that some of the “ friends ” of Bolshevik Russia “ continue to attack ” the regulations in which he rejoices.

We may, decidedly, be grateful to the *Daily Herald* in that its writers succeed in giving Bolshevism away with a cheery assurance and enthusiastic *abandon* that

must be infinitely distressing to its more wary advocates. Thus on May 4th last, it printed a very significant paragraph. Quoting an outspoken critic, the *Herald* said :—

“ ‘ A better illustration of the bedevilling genius of Bolshevism could hardly be found than its invention of a terminable paper currency for the payment of wages,’ writes a contemporary. ‘ If the money is not spent within a certain time, it ceases to have any value. Saving is thus made impossible, so that the individual can never be anything but a helpless helot of the State.’ Similarly, says the *Herald*, the “bedevilling genius” of capitalism can achieve the same end by paying the workers no more than a subsistence wage. But it doesn’t *look* nearly so bad as the Bolshevik plan.”

It is not necessary to dwell on the puerility of this comment which has in one respect a grave importance. It admits that the Bolshevik Government does not allow its workpeople to save the money that it pays them, even, it would seem, for a brief period. If one of them wishes to put by in order to buy a new coat, or a better pair of boots, or so as to have a good time when on holiday ;

or, if a woman, who expects to be a mother, wishes to save up to purchase some of those little adornments, dear to the heart of her sex, wherein to deck the little stranger—she may not do it. The money she has earned if not spent immediately is valueless. This, according to the *Herald*, is freedom. But the English miner, who out of his wages contrives to save enough to buy himself a side-car, who has a comfortable sum in the “Co-op.” and puts money away every week for the Wakes, he is represented as a down-trodden slave.

The position of the consumer under Bolshevism is open to grave objection. As I recently pointed out in *The New World*,* not only will the workman have to forego the right to combine, to sell his labour to the best advantage; (a right that however abused, yet remains a valuable asset) but with it something else disappears, that as an old-fashioned Liberal, I still value; the right of the consumer to lay out his money to the best advantage goes also. For observe, when property goes, profit, and production for profit go with it.

* “The Case for Property.”

So much is admitted, nay, insisted upon. Production for use is to be the *mot d'ordre* under the collectivist régime. Now what does this mean? Merely that the man or woman who wants to buy anything from a Sunday joint to a new hat, from a side-car to a cigar, will have precious little choice or selection so far as his or her purchases are concerned. There will clearly be no competition as now, between several firms, who desire to capture his custom.

There will be only one firm actually producing and supplying him—the Government: and that firm will show precious little regard for his peculiar wants, tastes, or desires. It is more than likely, indeed, that the average citizen, “the citizen without a pull,” under Collectivism, will be severely rationed. He will be allowed so much meat, so much, or so little, beer and tobacco, so much vegetables and fruit, and so much game. If he is a vegetarian or fruitarian, and signs a special card, or takes an affidavit before a magistrate, he may get some special diet. If not, he will have to put up with what others get; others, whose tastes and habits may be different to his own. Officials

work by rote and through forms, and personal tastes and peculiarities are not easily expressed in these, so that, though one man's meat will still be another man's poison, the same ration must serve for both. Production for use, not profit, must have it so.

As with food, so with clothes—the clothes that the State produces for use, standard boots, standard hats, standard blouses, and standard stockings—we shall have all of them. It will be very economical and praiseworthy no doubt. Ladies will cease to waste money on dainty *lingerie*, and men on fancy waistcoats and socks. These things, like all costly, elaborate, and luxurious articles, are designed, fashioned and made up for profit only. No one would produce them *in bulk* for use. And they, and nearly all varieties of food and clothes, will disappear, when property and profit vanish. The consumer would have to put up with what he could get ; what, in short, was thrown at him by the officials. He would be lucky if his food was eatable, and his clothes not too amorphous, not too uncomfortable, not too ill-fitting to be worn. Once property has gone, and with it all

competition, the consumer is helpless in the grip of the ubiquitous officials who, will work after the manner of their kind ; that is, by rote and without imagination or pre-science. “ Not what the public want, but what *we* think they need ; ” that will be their motto, and the workers will produce accordingly. Probably, the populace will buy whatever they get, not with money or tokens, but with tickets and coupons made out to the last ounce or half-ounce, and arranged so that if the recipient would like, say, more wine or less beer, more clothes and less coal—well he would not be able to get them, for the officials will have decided on his dietary, clothes, travelling allowances, holidays, and all the details of his life. In the nature of things, they *must* do so, for they, and they only, decide what is to be produced.

The consumer will be powerless to fight this tyranny. Competition has gone. He will have nothing to depend on save the tickets he receives from the State. If, as I think probable, the Right of Combination has gone also, he will not be able very easily to combine with his fellows for a strike. The State and its officials will boss him com-

pletely, and, as in Russia, they will be able to send him first here, then there, to any point in the industrial terrain where his labour force can be most profitably employed.

CHAPTER IV

MAN *versus* THE MACHINE !

THESE regulations involve much that is precious to all men who love liberty. First, let me make it clear that they involve the family. If a man is not to be allowed to have roots, a more or less permanent dwelling-place—in a word, a home : if he is to be sent, now to one place, then to another, wherever his labour will be most efficient within the vast area of the Steppes of Russia, so that he can settle nowhere, then it is clear that the home goes by the board, and we begin to think of a man as a separate unit, apart altogether from his family, a unit to be protected by the State—but to be absolutely subservient to that State ; while, inevitably, the officials directing its operations, will think less and less of him as a human being, and more and more of him as an efficient machine for the production of wealth. I may be told

that this regulation for the deportation of labourers from one part of Russia to another, is only a temporary expedient adopted to meet a special emergency. But we in England are familiar with the process by which temporary expedients become permanent drawbacks. It is much easier to fetter a man than to free him, once his initial consent has been gained. And so far as Russia is concerned, these "conscript labour battalions" are as helpless in the grip of the bureaucracy as the Bolsheviks were themselves beneath the sway of the Czar.

But there is a deeper reason for suspecting that these arrangements—so easily justified on the ground of industrial expediency and output—are not intended to be temporary. Lenin, Trotsky, Litvinoff—far-seeing and sagacious men—have been trained in the school of Socialism; in the school of Marx, Engels, Bebel, Liebknecht, *et hoc genus omne*. All these men, and all the exponents of Socialism, from Robert Owen down to Bernard Shaw are definitely and explicitly opposed to the institutions of the home and the family; they assert and argue that marriage and the home are *bour-*

geois institutions, which would certainly disappear together with that capitalism, which Lenin and his friends are now destroying. That they have argued thus from any base or libidinous or unworthy motive, I am not suggesting. They, and their disciples, have as much right to attack the home and the family as I have to support it. But we ought to get it clearly in our minds that the Socialist conception of society is one in which human relationships disappear. Bebel, I may remind my readers, described woman as "the slave of a slave," that is, when she was a wife. Mr. Belfort Bax, one of the ablest and most cogent Socialist writers of the period, in a memorable essay, gave us to understand that the idea of female chastity was a superstition. Mr. Bernard Shaw has himself frequently attacked home, marriage, and the family. "Under Socialism," said Lady Warwick, after she had imbibed the pure milk of Collectivism, "we shall speak of children as *our* children. No one will say *my* children." Parenthood, therefore, is to disappear. Children are to be brought up under "State Maintenance," in roomy barracks in the country (*vide* the old S.D.F.

programme) ; their occupation, training, religion, and all the rest of it, will be chosen for them, not by the parents, but by officials.

Now, as a matter of actual fact, it is exactly upon these lines that the Soviet Republic is reorganising the child-life of Russia to-day. What is it that they claim to have done as regards the children ? To have seen that, in their fathers' homes, they were well fed, and properly nurtured, that the breadwinner of the family had enough money to release his wife from labour, and to see that his children were well-shod and well-housed ? Not a bit of it. We do not get pictures of the family meal in Soviet Russia, but of children being fed in institutions by nurses. We are told explicitly by Mr. Goode, no willing witness against the Soviets, that the children are taken away from the towns, and therefore from their homes, to be reared in colonies in the country (see Chapter II., page 26). " Guardianship is organized," says an official Bolshevik publication, " not on a private, but on a social basis." If that means anything, it means that the authority of the parent is to be destroyed in favour of the authority of the State. Again, we are told

that this measure is transitional, but again I am not satisfied with the assurance, for I find that the Government which gives it, is making elaborate arrangements for the upbringing of children away from the homes of their parents, and is, by its system of indentured or conscript labour, under which workmen are sent, first to one part of the country, then to another, making the maintenance of the home impossible ; thus hastening the day when it disappears in the complete communal life.

It is very necessary, in this connection, that we should ask ourselves what is the status of the mother under Soviet Russia. According to article 89, Section VII. of the Russian Code of Labour Laws, nursing mothers are allowed extra periods of rest, or "interruption," every three hours, and for not less than half-an-hour. We must take it that when a child has been weaned, and her rests disappear, the mother remains at work, and, in fact, by this time, or soon after, the child will have been sent to one of the Labour Colonies in the country, where, in the nature of things, the parents cannot have access to it—save at rare intervals. The mother of the child is now

indistinguishable from other workers; that is to say, she is paid for her work in the factory or the mill and not for rearing her offspring and bringing up her family. Under these conditions, it is clear that the home is destroyed, for, let it be observed, that the Soviet Government has the right to exact what work it chooses from its citizens, men and women, and if that work is refused, then the citizen starves. Now, in the case of the mother, it insists that the child shall be brought up by officials, not in the home, and that the mother shall work at the bench, or in the factory, amid the stress of industrial life.

There is, it seems to me, a great loss in this—a loss that we in England ought to realize because, as we have seen, we also have powerful forces at work, who desire that the business of the upbringing of children should be undertaken, no longer by the parents—subject to proper checks and safeguards by the State—but by the State itself. A great writer, Mr. Frederic Harrison, has well said that :—

“ The Home is the primeval and eternal school where we learn to practise the balance of our instincts, to restrain

appetite, to cultivate affection, to pass out of our lower selves, to live for Humanity. The Home is where men are made, where characters are formed, where the first great problem of life is solved, how to reconcile self with himself."

But the home is to go under Socialism ; that much is clear, and it is going to-day under Bolshevism in Russia, where the Socialists have the reins in their hands, and it will go in England—it has already been weakened—if our British Bolsheviks have their way !

Again Mr. Frederic Harrison observes :

" It is only in the Home that Humanity is revealed to Man in all its majesty and charm—for there only can we get so close to each human soul, see it transfigured in such sympathetic light, and watch it in all the subtlety of its working—as to be able to know all that the human heart can be. In the Home only do we learn the habit of daily, hourly, self-discipline, so that restraint of the self-regarding instinct becomes habitual, regular and easy. This is true, of course, only of normal members of a healthy home, for we know too well how the home itself may be perverted into being the occasion and nursery of selfishness. And it is in the Home that

the three forms of affection—attachment, reverence, sympathy—become known in all their intensity, purity, and continuous vitality.”

The home—the family—form but part of the price that Russia must pay for Bolshevism. Under the rule of Lenin and Trotsky, as under the rule of State Socialism, the workmen must forfeit also the right of combination, the Right to Strike.

That is a right which I shall be told has been frequently abused under modern industrial conditions. Perhaps. It is the essence of a human right that it is always capable of being misused. The right to drink wine and beer is doubtless abused when a gentleman has too much wine with his dinner and goes off discreetly in a taxi, or when the workman imbibes too much of the liquor now facetiously described as beer—and is not discreet. But we in England—unlike Russia—still refuse to accept Prohibition. The important fact about the right of combination is that it marks the difference—the fatal, unmistakable difference—between the slave and the freeman. There is no getting away from the fact that the man who is not able to combine with his

fellow workmen and to say: " Upon these terms, and for this reason or the other, we will not work ; " the man, who is compelled to do a job, whether he likes it or not, and who is prevented from driving a bargain with his employer, be that employer the State, or be he a private capitalist, that man is a slave, pure and simple. Similarly the man who says : " I do not choose to work at Moscow, I prefer to work in my own little village here amongst the hills. I will not leave my homestead and my friends, my wife and my children, no matter how much more output I may produce for the officials," but who had to yield to that " iron discipline " which the *Herald* tells us is inevitable—that man is as much up against slavery as the negro, who was taken hither and thither in South America, bandied from one planter to another. It is idle to say that this outrage is justified because no one individual gets profit from it. Suppose the whole of the Southern States had nationalised cotton-planting and had expended the proceeds in " social service "—better education, improved buildings, municipal theatres, etc., would that have deterred Lincoln from abolishing slavery? The slaves of the Bolshevik officials, deprived

of the power of combination, will be worse off, not only than the negroes, but the Roman servitors who contrived to combine under Spartacus. For without the power of combination, they will inevitably be, each and all of them, helpless units in the grip of the bureaucracy; deprived of the power of collective bargaining, they will be unable to play any effective part in determining the conditions, or the rate of payment, at which they are engaged. They will be pawns moved hither and thither by the mighty hand of the State.

That State, let us remember, will have an absolute monopoly of the means of life. Supposing a group, or a Trade Union of workmen, organize a strike against an employer now. The men withhold their labour; the capitalist retains their wages. His business is paralyzed; their earnings cease, but they have still their union funds and their savings; their shares in the Co-operative societies, their other resources that enable them to hold on till the employer is compelled to bargain. But under State Socialism, in Russia or in England, or anywhere else, the State will own all; it will control everything. The very water that supplies the houses of the revolting workmen can be

cut off at a moment's notice. Their food tickets—for money will have disappeared—can be withheld. The State, through its officials ~~can~~ and will fight the workmen, not merely by withholding wages, but by withholding the very means of existence, which it alone will control.

I am aware that I shall be told that under Bolshevism—or Socialism, it matters not which we call it—no occasion will arise for strikes. Profit will have been eliminated. Industry will be “spiritualized.” The workmen will have ideal conditions, hygienic and otherwise, with plenty of wages and any amount of leisure. “In the name of the Prophet, Figs.” Until the end of time, there will be always two parties to a bargain ; two parties there are, or should be, to fixing the conditions under which a man earns his bread. It may be that the official, the new “boss” (who is still out to make profit for the State !) thinks he knows best how a man's work should be performed; under what conditions as to space, lighting, time, etc., it should be carried out. But in this world the man who *does* the job frequently knows better than the officials who direct operations from afar off,

serenely established with other bureaucrats in resplendent offices, "far from the madding crowds ignoble sway." They, the new hierarchy, will decide what holidays the workmen shall have : where he shall work and at what, and when and where he shall rest. And the workman, deprived of the mighty power of combination, will be helpless in their grasp, as, by the way, will the tiny Soviets also. For, mark well, under the Bolshevik régime, the men, who will rule the roost, will be those who sit with their hands on the lever of the highly-organized national machine ; able to isolate a district as easily as the Czar sent a workman to Siberia.

"Ah, but," says the Bolshevik, "at least so far as wages are concerned, the workman will be at an advantage. Friction there may be over conditions. But, once profit has been eliminated, you know, why then the workers of an industry will get practically all the wages they require."

To which I reply that, under the complete Bolshevik régime, either English or Russian, the workmen will get *no* wages. Wages are payable in money, with which a man may get him what he lists, be it beer or

tobacco, or bread, or books. With money in his pockets he may command the world to its extent; and no capitalist, no matter how rapacious or grasping, may say him nay. But under Bolshevism, be it observed, he is paid in tickets, according to a schedule. So much is his for "the pictures," so much for tobacco or beer, so much more for books. It may be, he would prefer more or less for some of these items.* That is not for him to decide; any more than it is for him to say what he would like his children to learn—those children he never sees; or where he himself would like to live and work. For he has ceased to be a man; he has become a slave of the State.

Picture him grown to manhood under the new conditions. He has been brought up at a State institution—his mother and father, long parted, he perhaps has never seen. He is well educated or, at least,

* Many of the most militant Socialists, it should be observed, are themselves teetotalers, such, for instance, as Mr. Philip Snowden, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. George Lansbury, and others. The payment of labour by "fodder tickets," which, under their dispensation, would not provide for beer or spirits, would be an easy method of enforcing the Prohibition they desire.

well instructed, hardy and well-fed. But of that education of the heart, without which Sir Walter Scott told us all else was vain, he knows nothing. Sisters, brothers—he has none. Playmates he had at school, but they have gone in opposite directions. He has a choice perhaps for some particular occupation, some craft or science that interests him ; but the officials have made it clear to him that the demand just now is for men who are urgently required to follow some other occupation. And he knows well, by now, the folly of resisting officials. He hopes he may be sent to that pretty bit of country where he met little Katrina, till he reflects that she is working in a State factory far away and that it is difficult nowadays to have a home of one's own and wise not to cultivate too deeply any special attachments. After all, he has enough to eat, even if he is without friends, and he has no cares or ambitions, so “ Nichevo.” Yet he is vaguely dissatisfied. Life seems empty somehow, and he recalls the words he once read at college of the English philosopher, Mill.

“ He who chooses his plan for himself employs all his faculties. He must use

observation to see, reasoning and judgment to foresee, activity to gather materials for decision, discrimination to decide and when he has decided, firmness and self-control to hold deliberately to his decision. And these qualities he requires and exercises exactly in proportion as the part of his conduct which he determines according to his own judgments and feelings is a large one. It is possible that he might be guided in some good path, and kept out of harm's way, without any of these things. But what will be his comparative worth as a human being? It really is of importance, not only what men do, but also what manner of men they are that do it. Among the works of man which human life is rightly employed in perfecting and beautifying, the first in importance is man himself."

He remembers that the Englishman pointed out that a country might have a great production, a great output of corn, houses, and all manner of things, and still leave men and women but "starved specimens" of their kind, and that also: "A person whose desires and impulses are his own—are the expression of his own nature, as it has been developed and modified by his own culture—is said to have

a character. One whose desires and impulses are not his own has no character, no more than a steam engine has a character."

And then he realises what he has become. He has ceased to be a man ; he has been made into a machine.

* * * *

It is well that I should deal here with an objection frequently taken by Socialists to the particular criticism of their system which I have just indicated : i.e., that the bureaucracy controlling industry, when it has passed into the hands of the State, will not and cannot allow any individual citizens to choose their own occupation, but will put them to such work as the State may appear most urgently to require ; irrespective of their individual capacity and fitness.

It is urged by the Socialist that even so, as matters are to-day, a man is unable to select his own occupation but must, in the great majority of cases, take what work he can get and that, therefore, he is in no worse case under the existing dispensation than he would be if he was living under the " State Coercion " justified by the *Herald*.

This argument appears plausible, but it will not bear analysis.

A young man entering life to-day, who desires to be, say a journalist or an author, can gratify his ambition if he can succeed in getting editors to buy his "copy," or if he wants to be a black-and-white artist and can make a market for his sketches no legal power exists to stop him following that avocation. He cannot, of course, *compel* editors to print his articles, any more than a novelist can compel the public to buy his books. But, at least, there is no one to stop him trying.

Similarly, if he prefers to be a canvasser or an insurance agent, or a gardener, he can do so, provided he can find someone to give him a job ; or, if he likes to go on the stage, or start a mail order business, or become a librarian, always assuming that he can find someone who wants to employ him in that capacity, there is nothing under Heaven to prevent him following the bent of his own mind, unless, of course, he is the victim of specially adverse circumstances in which case, he ceases to be of value as an illustration. It may be that he will fail to find anyone to employ him as an artist, journalist, canvasser or whatnot, and that, instead, he has to accept other

work for which he is less fitted, and which he dislikes. But he has at least a sporting chance to-day of succeeding.

Under the Bolshevist régime in Russia, and under its English form, he will have none ; for, as we know, under complete Collectivism there will be one employer and one only—the State ; and the State will decide at what the young man entering life works at, where and under what conditions. It will decide the matter—or rather the officials will—very roughly and with very little regard to the young man's peculiar tastes, temperament or disposition. That young man will be to the officials—those omnipotent, irremovable officials against whom there is no effective appeal—not a human being, but a number, a unit, a citizen who has signed a form which in reality tells them nothing, and whom they will never see. The form will contain very little that will help the officials to select with any discrimination the future occupation of the man whom it purports to describe. His record at school will probably be the only particulars it will give likely to be of the slightest value in such a task. And the guidance that record

will supply will almost certainly be imperfect ; for the world is full of clever men, who did badly at school, and dull men who did very well.

In point of fact, the determining factor at the glorified Labour Exchanges of the future, will be what the State needs, or appears to the officials to need, at the moment. So the youth who wants to be a landscape gardener will be compelled to learn carpentry. Perhaps he would have made a good landscape gardener ; perhaps he will never make an average carpenter. But that will not greatly matter. For the State will guarantee him employment. It *must* do so, no matter how bad his carpentry is. And the consumers, the people who will have to put up with his inferior workmanship, will have no possible alternative but to accept it. For, do not forget, competition will have been abolished : the State will have a monopoly and the people will have to take, therefore, whatever the State chooses to give them.

In theory, of course, Parliament, criticism in the House of Commons, " representative Government " and all the rest of it, suffice to protect us against the failures of official-

dom. The vagaries that have recently made those failures notorious ought, I agree, to have led to a defeat of the Government and the dismissal of the officials. But in practice, this does not happen.

It would take, not a volume, but a library to record the blunders and follies of officialdom during the war. The flagrant waste, the unbusinesslike recklessness, the gross incapacity that were condemned and exposed, not alone in sensational newspaper articles, but by the Lords of the Treasury, the Auditor-General, and the members of the Public Accounts Committee—with all these we have been made sadly familiar. The stories of Slough, Didcot, Chepstow, Richborough; of how the Ministry of Munitions paid accounts twice over—how the War Office “made presents” to contractors—how the Air Board spent half a million in trying to turn an undrainable swamp into an aerodrome—how thousands of motor cycles and cars were allowed to rot and rust into destruction—with all these, as with the cruel parsimony of the Pensions Board, the public have been made acquainted—and they are impotent! Representative Government and Parliament despite, not one

official has been punished ; indeed the very names of the offenders are withheld from us.

I am aware, of course, that the advocates of Bolshevism assert that this proves only that Parliament is unable to control the officials and that, therefore, Soviets are a necessity. But, as facts show, the Soviets would become as impotent in the hands of the Permanent Officials as Parliament itself.

CHAPTER V

THE DANGER

I COME now to deal with a question of very immediate and practical interest. What are the chances of Bolshevism in England? Is there any serious, any real danger, of the system being established in this country—still the wealthiest, and by far the freest in the world?

I believe that danger to be, not only serious, but acute, and all the graver because I think, the transposition will be accomplished without any revolution; without, in fact, any catastrophic change and almost imperceptibly. The process, in fact, has commenced now, and unless it be arrested, can only end in the destruction of our civilization; the euthanasia of the instincts and qualities that made us a great and virile people, who led mankind in the van of progress.

Let me state my reasons for this belief. First, it is clear to me that there is no

stability, or hope of stability, in the existing industrial order. We are faced with the fact that amongst the mass of the workers there has grown up a feeling of settled antagonism to the present system, which makes it impossible for society to continue without serious and far-reaching alterations in its structure and constitution. The great Trade Unions, founded for the purpose of securing better conditions for Labour—shorter hours and higher pay—have proved remarkably successful in securing these boons and so have attained, and legitimately, to a degree of power and authority in the industrial commonwealth far beyond the dreams of the men who established them half a century ago. Though the Unions cannot regulate or reduce prices, they can obtain almost any concession in the way of wages and hours, and they are proving their prowess more and more, day by day, by enlisting the members of trades and crafts—such as teachers, actors, policemen and insurance agents—to take a few instances at random—who, a short time ago, would have scouted the very idea of joining a Trade Union.

To-day, these organizations are being

rallied to by the "black-coated proletariat," while the large mass of manual workers are already enrolled under their banners.

But the animating idea throughout the unions is no longer merely to raise wages and get better terms for labour. It is to destroy private enterprise altogether, so that all industry passes into the hands either of the workmen themselves, organized in Guilds, or of the State.

Let me take as an example the Miners Federation of Great Britain, perhaps the most formidable Union in existence, possessing, as its members do, the one absolute monopoly of Labour in the world.

Now the leaders of that Federation are determined, at all costs, to break down the system of private ownership under which the Mines have been worked from time immemorial. They state that their supporters are resolved definitely and finally not to accept that system any longer, and Mr. Justice Sankey, the Chairman of the Government Commission, gave as his principal reason for Nationalisation, his belief that industrial peace and efficiency would never be restored to the coalfields

without that panacea, because of the change in the psychology and outlook of the average miner.

That change has found expression in repeated strikes and almost incessant demands for higher pay, until one is reminded of the famous pamphlet, "The Miners' Next Step," issued just before the first national strike, in which the Federation were enjoined to use the weapon of the "irritation strike"; the "sympathetic strike," and the "stay-in-strike," incessantly and whenever possible, in order to eliminate the coal-owners and to break down the present system of private ownership.

It may be urged that, despite the miners' obstinate and repeated attacks, the Government are firm in resisting their demands for Nationalisation. That is a curious delusion I am anxious to dispel. Nationalisation of the colliery companies has, indeed, been refused to Mr. Smillie and his friends. But the Nationalisation of the coal measures themselves, by way of buying out the Royalty owners, is even now proposed in a Government measure. In other words, the Government—"swearing they'd ne'er consent, have

consented"—to nine-tenths of the miners' demands. The coal will belong to the nation, though still worked by the existing companies. Nothing will be easier for a Labour Government, when they come into office, first to substitute Boards of Control for those companies (of course, with compensation to the latter), and then by placing those Boards under a Ministry of Mines, to ensure complete Nationalisation. Alternatively, they will refuse to lease the coal to the existing companies, save upon terms that will be, to put it mildly, more than favourable to Labour. In either event, private enterprise in the coal trade, as matters stand, is doomed.

I have spoken of the return of the Labour Party to Parliament. Unless there be, and speedily, a change in the orientation of the mind of workers of the country, that is inevitable within the next few years. That party, with all its crudities, defects and failings, is the only political aggregation, which puts forward definite, concrete proposals to end the existing industrial order; an order that, as I have said, is repugnant to nine wage earners out of ten. Their proposal is simple, as simple as it is

fallacious, Nationalisation. At present, the workers are held back from using the weapon of Direct Action to secure this panacea by one argument. The moderate leaders of the movement—moderate, that is to say, in methods, not in aims,—perpetually point out to the rank and file that the tactics of a general strike may jeopardize their chances of victory at the polls. “Only wait a little while,” they say, “and we shall be in office, and then——” Then, if the next election does not bring a Labour Government, or if that Government does not “speed up” Nationalisation, we may look out for Direct Action in earnest !

For, as matters stand to-day, the great mass of Trade Unionists, that is the great mass of workers, are resolutely bent on Nationalisation. True, its failure is to be seen in almost everything the Government touches. True they are warned that it spells, and must spell, industrial conscription—in England as in Russia ; true, they are told that while it is possible to allow workmen to use the weapon of the strike against private employers, yet the State, once it has made itself responsible for the supply of a certain article that the public

want—such as, for instance, coal or milk or any necessity—could not possibly suffer that service to be discontinued and would, in the nature of things, treat all its employers, as it treats to-day the policemen and postal servants, who dare to use rights that workmen under private enterprise fearlessly employ. It is in vain to tell the workmen this ; the virus of Nationalisation is in his blood. He will not listen even when his own leaders warn him that the State is, on the whole, a harder taskmaster than the private employer.

Before me as I write is an extract from the *Daily Herald* which reads thus :

“ P.M.G. ATTACKED.

“ *The ‘ Greatest Sweater.’*

“ The Conference of the National Federation of Sub-Postmasters was begun in Edinburgh yesterday, under the chairmanship of Mr. Walter Neale (Barnsley). The chairman said that during the past few years sub-postmasters had passed through a very trying time.

“ Referring to their position under the telephone system, he said the Postmaster-General was the greatest sweater of modern times and the hardest taskmaster since the days of Pharaoh.

“ The position was intolerable, and the general public did not know that the national system of telephones was managed in such an atrocious and blood-money fashion.”

That extract alone ought to be sufficient to make the workman reconsider his position in regard to Nationalisation. But it will prove as futile as the other portents that he has ignored.

Upon whom then may we rely to resist the pressure of the massed Trade Union vote at elections, backed by the threat of “ Direct Action ” ?—a threat that is brought home to us ever and anon by swift and sudden strikes. It used to be said that the middle classes would resist Socialism and might be relied upon to save the situation. But, as I have pointed out, to-day the “ black-coated proletariat ” are joining the Trade Unions and the Labour Party. The war has caused a complete transformation in their outlook. In the first place, many of them have seen their businesses — small businesses — absorbed in the mammoth shop and the huge trust. Secondly, and more important, not a few of them have enjoyed the advantages of “ cushy jobs ” in Government

offices and the experience has impressed them deeply. So long as Socialism meant that they also would have to push a barrow or wield a pick like a common navvy, they were quite alive to its evils. But State control and State administration has taught them that there are other possibilities. They have become alive to the advantages of the Civil Service, with its quiet, steady humdrum, its absence of rush or effort, its leisurely security—above all its certainty of employment: for, unless a man shows real originality or positive genius, there is no fear of his discharge from that employment and, as a result, the middle class man's opposition to State Socialism becomes less and less marked and he favours, more and more, any extension of State control, any addition to the sphere of State activities. Even when he is in receipt of a good salary, and has an important position of trust, he knows that when the Government take him over, he will be fairly, even generously dealt with.

And it is this consideration, which is weighing also, if not with all, certainly with a particular type of capitalist. The keen, successful employer, whose men are well-

paid and content, who has built up his business by his own efforts and is proud of his achievement, he may, indeed, be opposed to Nationalisation. But as with other people, so with capitalists ; there are some who prefer the easiest way ; and that way is to be bought out by the State and worried no longer by strikes and threats of strikes, and enjoy that "unearned increment" which will still accrue to them as the price of Nationalisation.

These are the factors that, it seems to me, make for the success of an English adaptation of Bolshevism. To them, let us add another. In Russia we have seen that the family and home have been practically undermined—an absolute necessity if industrial conscription is to succeed. And to-day, in England, the home is in grave danger. The ceaseless efforts of writers, Socialist for the most part, who have sought openly to discredit the family and virtually to abolish marriage, the perpetual encroachment of the State upon the rights and authority of the parent : the doctrine, preached so assiduously by Fabian sociologists and Eugenist authors that a man ought not to choose a wife or bring up a family, according to his own

ideas, but only under the direction of experts—these, with the practical difficulties of obtaining a house and the license that has followed on the war, have created an atmosphere more than favourable to those who, with Mr. Shaw, see in the home, marriage and the family, a serious obstacle to that completely communal life which they desire to impose upon us. Just as the war gave Lenin his chance in Russia, so it gives Sidney Webb his opportunity here.

There will be no revolution—at least, no violence. Doubtless, that astute manipulator and his friends will do the trick without bloodshed. But liberty will be sacrificed all the same.

CHAPTER VI

THE REMEDY

I MAY be asked how it comes that the Bolshevik propaganda continues to make such headway in England, when it runs directly contrary to so much that we have been accustomed to cherish and value: contrary, that is, to the right of a man to choose his own avocation, and to combine with his fellows when he has entered it: contrary, also to his right to enjoy in security the affections of his wife and family in his home.

Under Bolshevism, as we have seen, the home and the family will be atrophied, if not abolished, and the right of "collective bargaining" between employer and employed will go by the board. The worker will live under a system of industrial conscription that will compel him to work, now here, now there, and will make anything like a settled dwelling place impossible. Hence, inevitably, the home will go, and

“ property in women ”—the Socialist synonym for marriage—will disappear in that perfectly communal existence where the exclusive possession or use of any object is regarded as a deadly sin.

Now this sort of existence does not appeal to the ordinary Englishman. He likes his home, and he has no desire to share his wife with his neighbour. Why then, may be asked, has he lent so favourable an ear to doctrines whose adoption can only end, as they are indeed intended to end, in the elimination of the sense of ownership?

The answer is two-fold. First, we must have regard to the methods by which the pro-Bolshevik campaign has been conducted—and secondly to the complete absence of any organized effort to counteract it.

For many years past the only organized effort made to interest workmen in economic subjects, to get them to read books or pamphlets, or to attend meetings or lectures dealing with questions of wages, profits, employment, the organization of industry, and the betterment of labour generally, have come from the Collectivists, who, as I have said, are really Bolsheviks under a less alarming name. It has apparently been

assumed that these questions, in which the workman has a vital interest, need not be argued with him from the point of view of personal property at all, and that the reasonings so insistently pressed on him from the Communist side, will be dismissed from his mind on the assurance that they are "Utopian" or "visionary" or "unsound." Hence, we have so far allowed the Socialists to carry on their propaganda unchecked and unchallenged.

That propaganda has been conducted with remarkable ability, assiduity and devotion. The great Trade Unions have been permeated to saturation point with Collectivist doctrines. Every secretary of every Trade Union branch is constantly fed with Fabian tracts and literature—well written and well printed, in which the case for Socialism is argued with great ability. Probably that secretary is a young, energetic and able man—not well instructed—but clever and impressionable, who will do much to mould and influence opinion among his fellows. He is discontented, and properly so, with the conditions of his class. He naturally reads the Fabian and Socialist literature with avidity, and, as he never

comes across any answer to it, he does not question the conclusions which it sets out—for the most part forcibly and fairly. If he displays exceptional interest, or ability, his Union sends him to one or other of the Labour Colleges, where he is well and carefully trained. He leaves, a convinced Socialist and an educated man—still, however, without having heard the other side. He is then more than a match for most of the opponents who cross swords with him on the platform, and is a powerful asset on the side of Socialism.

This is but one side of the “peaceful penetration” of the Socialist that has gone on incessantly for years past; gone on unnoticed but all the time producing results, the more powerful because they have been ignored. The Socialists do not content themselves with capturing the live men in the Trade Unions, with interesting the abler, more persistent and aggressive workmen; they strive to capture the rank and file, and with considerable success. Leaflets are distributed, pamphlets printed and sold by the thousand, meetings and lectures organized week by week throughout the country, with the

result that Socialist feeling and sympathy grows steadily in strength and intensity, and tens of thousands of men and women hold the tenets of the faith with religious fervour and are firmly persuaded that the only object worth living for is the destruction of the present industrial system, and the substitution of what they call the "Co-operative Commonwealth." Forty years ago the Socialists in Great Britain were a handful, and they were opposed in thought, sentiment and feeling to the great mass of their fellow-countrymen. To-day they have succeeded in creating an atmosphere, more than favourable to the propositions that our fathers laughed at, and they are themselves recruiting with astonishing rapidity, though, as I have said, their ultimate aims are repugnant to most Englishmen.

Why is this ? Largely because no serious and organized effort has as yet been made to carry on a sustained campaign, criticizing the Collectivist proposals from the workman's point of view, or answering in any detail the claims that are made for proposals that appear so impressive—till they are analyzed.

But there is another and a deeper reason for the triumph of the Bolshevik propaganda. It is not only criticism that is required to check its growth, but definite constructive reforms, which will deal with the evils that Socialism proposes to remedy, but, in fact intensifies.

It is now quite clear to every competent observer that labour will not accept its present position in the industrial scheme of things. The great mass of the workers are determined not to endure a system, which, as I have pointed out, gives them no security of livelihood and compels them to create wealth, distributed largely in the form of dividends, which they do not share. Moreover, they are determined on obtaining at least reasonable conditions of comfort for themselves, and their families, and they resent with especial bitterness, the wasteful, degrading, and indeed, intolerable housing conditions that at present inflict such injury and discomfort upon them.

In my view, Collectivism offers no remedy for these evils. I think that it will not diminish, but increase, unemployment ; destroy profit, depress and stereotype industry, impoverish labour, and delay, as officialdom

has already delayed, the settlement of the housing question. I believe that this could be made clear to the workman. But I am convinced also that mere destructive criticism by itself will not suffice to save us from Bolshevism. Once mankind has made up its mind to escape from an intolerable position, then it will take the first path that offers release. The mere demonstration that it is leaving the frying-pan for the fire will not suffice. It is part of our nature that we should take chances, and adventure in big things and in small, and once we are really dissatisfied, the warnings and arguments of experience and deduction fall upon deaf ears.

But, if anyone can show us a more excellent way, then we are prepared at least to listen. Hence, I submit that if we are effectively to counter the Bolshevist attack upon the present industrial order, we must so modify that order as to give labour a new status and a new outlook, so that existing criticisms of its inadequacy from the Socialist standpoint no longer apply.

How can that be done? A little consideration of those criticisms will help us to find the answer, for, as I have said, the

Socialist proposals intensify the very evils which lie at the root of industrial discontent.

First, they complain, and as I think with reason, that the mass of men are proletarians—that is, without property ; secondly, they propose to vest all property in the State—and so make all of us proletarians!

Now, to my mind the answer to this should be to admit the complaint and to deny the remedy.

We should agree that the possession of property is natural to man, and beneficial to the community. We should, therefore, repudiate the ideal of depriving all men of its possession, but rather seek for practical and immediate plans for its restoration to the mass, so that it ceases to become a privilege of a favoured few, but is enjoyed by all. Not until that has been accomplished will property be secure, nor the general progress down the inclined plane towards Collectivism arrested. Moreover, property will give both that security, which the workman desires, and will make possible that personal freedom, which inevitably he must lose when it is merged in the Collectivist State.

The question then is how the restoration of property can be effected. So far, as the land worker is concerned, the difficulties are by no means insuperable. Ireland has shown us the way. The Wyndham Act, under which the Irish peasant was enabled to purchase his own farm and holding, and to erect his own cottages and buildings, has proved splendidly successful, thanks in large part to the great administrative genius of Sir Horace Plunkett, whose work in organizing the Agricultural Co-operative Societies in Ireland has never yet received adequate recognition. Under that Act, the Government lent the Irish peasant the purchase price of his land and the Co-operative Credit Societies provided him with capital on easy terms and the Act answered magnificently. Yet, brilliant as has been its success in Ireland, no Government has yet been found sane and consistent enough to apply its principles to the English villages. The boon we have conferred on the Irish, whose antagonism to ourselves and our Empire is open and unequivocal, is denied to our own people—to the men who fought and bled for us during the War. Yet a Wyndham Act enforced all over England at the present

moment, would bring forth splendid results : would create, or rather re-create, the old sterling Yeoman Class, and would lead to such a revival of agriculture as would not only relieve the pressure of population in the towns, but would rear up amongst us a new race of Englishmen—Yeomen and Freemen—to whom poverty and insecurity would be unknown, leading hardy, clean, healthy lives, breeding healthy children, and resolutely opposed to that slavery of the State, which is the great danger of the present day.

It is worth while to see what has been done so far in this direction. Captain Colin Coote, M.P., tells us that “ under the Small Holdings Act, 1908, when conditions were not nearly so favourable to agriculture as they are to-day, valuable results were secured. The County Council of the Isle of Ely, up to the outbreak of the war, had settled 1,137 men on the land, exclusive of small-holders, who had set up for themselves. They had no single bad debt on their small holdings account. The Norfolk County Council showed a considerable credit balance upon theirs ; and so long as reasonable prices rule for agricultural produce, success upon a small holding, given hard work, is a

certainty. We have the Government assurance that no slump in agriculture will be permitted, and indeed a slump is entirely out of the question for the next five years, in view of the condition of the food producing countries of Central and Eastern Europe."

Since 1908, fresh Acts have been passed. "The Land Settlement Act, in conjunction with the Land Acquisition Act, gives effect to the principle that any man possessing a small amount of capital, practical agricultural knowledge, and the desire to earn an independent living shall be granted a piece of land with security of tenure and the ultimate right of purchase. The land is to be bought by the County Council, under a cheaper and quicker process, at the price which the land would fetch in the open market with a willing seller.

It is to be bought as long as there is any demand from fully qualified men, either at an agreed price, or at a price fixed by a special Court. The County Council can compel the owner to sell, if suitable land is not otherwise available. A preference is to be given to ex-Service men for the first two years, and after a man has been

in possession of his holding for over five years, he can require the County Council to sell it to him, with full allowance for any improvements he may have carried out.

A few figures of the results achieved already under this legislation may be of interest. "The County of the Isle of Ely has already settled 606 men upon 4,311 acres. Additional applications from nearly 1,000 ex-Service men, and 900 civilians have been lodged with the County Council, and it is hoped that the majority of these will be on the land before next Michaelmas. In Huntingdonshire, 480 men have already been settled, and in Cambridgeshire about 400."

These figures are interesting chiefly as showing what remains to be done. The results as achieved are sound but utterly inadequate, and they point to the need for a bold and comprehensive measure on broad lines, that shall do for England in 1920, what the late George Wyndham did for Ireland two decades ago ; what the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain tried to accomplish fifteen years earlier. Given that, the establishment of a peasant proprietary, and we

shall introduce a new and balancing force into England.

So far, therefore, as the country is concerned the solution of the problem is comparatively simple though, of course, its mode of execution may be difficult. The man who owns his own farm or small holding has property in his own means of production, and, provided with capital on easy terms, is free from exploitation by the usurer. How can we so adjust existing industrial arrangements as to place the town worker in a similar position? Co-operation can do much: so far as distribution goes, the Co-operative Societies of the North and the Midlands have been remarkably successful but they have chosen to invest their surplus capital, not in their own productive undertakings, but ordinary securities. This is regrettable, because there is no reason why they should not repeat the successes that they have achieved in the realm of distribution as producers; employing their own capital to manufacture goods under Trade Union conditions, and distributing the surplus profits among their customers and the workmen employed. Thus could be realized the co-operative ideal of a State within a

State. It is noteworthy that at Kettering, where co-operative industry is the order of the day, industrial discontent is an unknown quantity, while investigators have left on record bright and inspiring pictures of the high spirits and buoyant energies of the workpeople, men and women, employed in a business that they feel is their own.

Again, one of the most successful and prosperous printing businesses in London was started some three or four decades ago by a handful of workmen, who, with a small capital, built up the Co-operative Printing Society, Ltd., the profits of which, aggregating many thousands are divided between the customers and the men engaged. There are many other striking instances, but they still leave the mass of British workers under the ordinary private capitalist.

The new psychology of the workers is the main problem we have to consider. The employer, let us suppose, pays good wages, and his business earns good dividends. In the latter, in the prosperity that he helps to create, the workman has no share, and if times are slack, he is paid off. In my view, it is vital that both these anomalies

should be redressed. First, provision for periods of unemployment ought to be arranged by each individual industry, to which every business should contribute. While unemployment insurance remains a national charge, there is no direct incentive to the employer to stabilize production, and avoid those periods of boom and slackness, which add to the difficulty of the problem. We should do much to decasualize labour and to balance employment, and so help to remove a most fruitful source of industrial bitterness if every trade were to provide against unemployment. It will be easy to do this when it becomes the rule, not the exception, to give the workman a direct share in the profits of the business he serves; to end his status as workman, in fact, and make him a partner. Till that be accomplished, till he is given a real and tangible interest in maintaining the present system, thus reformed, so long will the demand for its abolition gain in fervour and intensity, until a conflict is precipitated which must make its continuance impossible. The existence of large masses of proletarians on the one hand, conscious of their ability to paralyze industry by concerted action,

and bitterly resentful of their employers' wealth; and, on the other, of a number of monopolistic trusts, forcing tribute from the public by artificially inflated prices, cannot last in the nature of things. The workman, having learnt that his Unions are all powerful to get high wages, will use that power for something else. Only by taking him into partnership can the capitalist avert a series of long and bitter struggles that can have but one end. In a word, we can only protect property by restoring it to the worker. We can only save industry by making him a partner in its operations. If that reconstruction is beyond us, then we shall assuredly be overwhelmed. It is that—or Bolshevism. 2B

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